

**ULUSLARARASI PİRİ REİS VE
TÜRK DENİZCİLİK TARİHİ
SEMPOZYUMU
26-29 Eylül 2013 / İSTANBUL**

**TÜRK DENİZCİLİK TARİHİ
BİLDİRİLERİ**

3. CİLT



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TÜRK TARİH KURUMU
ANKARA 2014

"And we have seen that when they (the Ottomans) were dealt the great defeat, they rebuilt their fleet in six months: one hundred and twenty galleys, in addition to those that remained. When this fact was forecast and reported in writing by me, it was judged unbelievable, and even more so after these new galleys were armed. Although the Turks do not lack new galleys, this is not true as sailors, officers, gunners, and similar people are concerned. Because of the route that your serenity gave them, they are deprived of almost all maritime militia, which can not be so easily reorganized, as that needs much time and experience, and also, the Turks generally perform quite inadequately in this activity."

You should therefore attribute hardly any importance to the number of their galleys, the cause of more confusion than of benefit, especially now that by the grace the Lord God has not only removed from the Turks that superb impression that Christians would not dare fight against them, but that on the contrary, they have their spirits so oppressed by fear, who dare not to cope with ours, and admitting themselves that their galleys are in every detail inferior in respect to ours, this being also true for fighting people, artillery, and all the other things relevant to navigation."

All this may seem a little exaggerated. Yet two facts remain: first, that the *reis*, officers and fighting men were almost entirely exterminated without mercy by the Venetians; second, for a number of years, the Ottoman fleet was short of well-trained crews.

Even were I able (and I am not), it is not my intention to discuss the strategic and political consequences of the battle. My only objective has been to discuss some features of this crucial period that have not yet been thoroughly investigated: when superior Western technology overcame the bravery and the stamina of the best soldiers of the period.

Ottoman Corsairs in The Atlantic During The 16th Century: Murat Rais, The Albanian and The First Ottoman Expedition to The Canary Islands

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The strength of the Ottoman navy in the 16th was felt across the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. In the Western Mediterranean, Algiers was the most active and powerful centre of activity of the Ottoman navy. One of the greatest Ottoman captains was Murat Rais, the Albanian, who in 1585 led a successful expedition to the Canary Islands. The fact that this was the first Ottoman expedition in the Atlantic and that it was so effectively organized and carried out suggests that Murat Rais should have used cartographical information, and he might have had knowledge of the Piri Reis's maps of the Atlantic.

The great geographical discoveries of the 15th-16th centuries enabled the establishment of contacts between hitherto isolated parts of human civilization. Geographical discoveries of Europeans and their penetration into areas that had previously been known only through legends, naturally caused a chain reaction in some Muslim countries, especially the Ottoman Empire. The inclusion of the Albanian lands in the Ottoman Empire encouraged the Albanians to display the best features and highest values, not only for personal interest but for the best of overall human civilization.

Among a large number of Albanians whom through the contributions to the Ottoman Empire, contributed to world history was the famous sea captain of the Mediterranean in the sixteenth century, Murat Reis, the Great. A brave and adventurous captain, which Philip Ghosse considers as one of the most famous sailors of all time.¹ His figure was also one of the most prominent literary characters of the Spanish literature of the "golden age."² But literary commentators have been puzzled in that it is a real or fictional character.³

Based on the evidence of Diego de Haedo, in his *Topografia e Historia de Argel*, the most famous and most important source about Algiers of the late sixteenth century, we can see that the captain which the writer Castillo Solorzano called "the biggest corsair among Muslims" is Murat Rais, the Great. Haedo writes: "On the number of galleons of the corsairs and their boats in Algiers in 1581: ... 5. Murat Rais, the Great, Albanian Muslim, two galeots, 24/banks ... 7. Murat Raisin, Matrapillo, Spanish Muslim, one of 22 banks ... 11. Rais Murat, the youngest, Greek Muslims, one of 18 banks."⁴ Haedo goes confessing his maritime feats year after year until 1595 when he ends his chronicle.⁵

The historical figure of this Albanian seaman that has had such an important a place in the history not only of the Mediterranean but also of the maritime literature of the Spanish Golden Age we could clarify and enlighten on the basis of documents and other data. Also his European contemporaries, highlight among a whole myriad of sea captains bearing the name Murat, with the epithet the Great.

According to data provided by Haedo, captain Murad the Albanian was born to Christian parents.⁶ At the age of 12 fall into the hands of prominent seafarer of Algiers Kara Ali, who saw his talents in the exercise of the art of navigation. Ph. Ghosse, says that Murad was the first among independent Ottoman captains that sailed more for their own account rather than included in the navy.⁷

In the siege of Malta in 1565, after the defeat of the Ottoman

fleet, was tired of the monotony of discipline and service in the Ottoman fleet and left without asking anyone to navigate on their own account, with the galleon that Kara Ali had given to him. When he returned to Algiers, had to face the wrath of Kara Ali, who took from him the rowers and did not him gave another vessel. But Murad, still young, attracted by marine life, could not give up, until he found a galley of 15 rows and left towards the coast of Spain. After 7 days returned bringing three Spanish bergantins and 140 prisoners. This successful incursion gave him great reputation. Then he started to work under the orders of the Calabrian Uluxh Ali, and old and well known captain in Algiers. At this time he carried another successful action, completed with the capture of three Maltese galleys on the coast of Sicily. In January 1578 he could have a fleet consisting of several galleons owned by him and begins to act as Captain or Rais already. The most important action of this year was when he took the galley Santangel, in which was traveling to Spain the Duke of Terranova, former vice-Roy and general captain of Sicily.

That was nothing compared to a year after which made his name as famous as that of the English seafarer Francis Drake, who had just returned from his expedition around the globe.⁸ In April 1580 he sailed from Algiers with only two galleons, than he sailed smoothly off the shores of Tuscany when he finds two large galleys which were owned by Pope Gregory XIII, and one of them named "La Capitanía" was the papal admiral ship. Although the papal galleys were equipped and well-armed, the ingenuity and ability of Murat triumphed, becoming master of the two galleys. Although the main papal officials managed to escape, Murad did not go without anything, because the ships were left filled with treasures and people. Hundreds of Muslims and a large number of Christian prisoners, a good portion of them church officials, who for various reasons were detained by the papacy were released.

Murat the Albanian continued his feats, protected and supported by his friend, seafarer and great diplomat the Albanian, Muhammad Arnaut. It was in 1585 Murat Rais carried out the most famous expedition of his life reaching what no other Muslim seafarer, whether

Moroccan or Ottoman had ever done before: the passage of the Strait of Gibraltar and the realization of incursions into the Atlantic Ocean. Until then, sailors and the most prominent Ottoman corsairs sailed near the coast unless they had to cross the Mediterranean. Murad departed from Algiers with 3 galleons. Then he stopped at the port of Sale where he was reinforced with some small bergantins. The squadron of Murat crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and sailed all the distance needed to reach the Canary Islands. A space that is unknown to the Ottomans as it was a century ago for Europeans.⁹

Murad had taken a prisoner by the Canary Islands saying he knew the route, but when after many days of arduous rowing, the Canarian pilot said to Murat that he was afraid that they had lost the orientation and had passed Canaries, Murat's answer surprised everyone: "even though I've never been there, I am sure that what you say is impossible. So, go in that direction." Murad was right. A short time later, they spotted one of the islands of the archipelago, the Lanzarote. After that about 250 soldiers landed at night and took about 300 prisoners, among whom were the mother, the wife and the daughter of the governor of the archipelago.

The next day, Murad revealed the flag of truce and began the release of prisoners for a fee of ransom. The governor's family as well as most of the prisoners were released. Although Murad did not hesitate to take the return trip, the news of the attack had arrived in the Spanish royal court before he arrived in Gibraltar. Near the Straits of Gibraltar was the Great Admiral of Spain, Don Martin de Padilla in charge of a squadron composed of 18 galleys, waiting for him. But it came to pass through the strait on a foggy night, and even he took some time to fire with artillery, in defiance of the Spanish admiral.

The fact that Murat Rais was so sure in the trajectory of its fleet when others had lost orientation is clear evidence that the Great captain possessed accurate cartographic information about the location of the Canary Islands despite the fact that he had never sailed in those waters. The possibility that Murad was in possession

of exact geographical mapping of some African coast and the Atlantic Ocean, in order to overcome the empirical information of local seamen we can see clearly from the dialogue with the Canarian seafarer. The work of the Ottoman seafarer Piri Reis, *Kitab-i Bahriye*, published in 1521 and based in Columbus original maps on the configuration of the Atlantic and the newly discovered territories of America is a monumental evidence of geographic information possessed by the Ottomans.¹⁰ We can consider this expedition of Murat Rais in the Atlantic as the first one of the few cases where detailed mapping information of the *Kitab-i Bahriye*, had practical application.

The expedition of Captain Murat Rais was one of the boldest undertakings in the history of seamanship, considering that this Atlantic expedition was conducted with ships that were meant to sail in the Mediterranean, but not the ocean. The essential difference between the two is that the navigation in the Mediterranean used rowing boats and oars which in the ocean were powerless to withstand high winds and waves.

Two years after his first incursion in the Canary Islands, he undertook another incursion organized with 18 galleons and seemingly in collaboration with Queen Elizabeth.¹¹

Murat the Albanian took office as admiral of Algiers in 1595. According to Godfrey Fisher: « *His official career was, however an honourable and eventful one, which brought him into contact with French ambassadors, eminent London merchants, the governors of Marseilles, and even James I and his successor.* »¹²

It seems that since his expeditions in 1585 and 1587 in the Canary, and since the appointment as admiral of Algiers in 1595, his career resembles a pilgrimage to his homeland, Albania. Thus after Algiers, in the years 1603-1607 seems that he moved to Tunis as admiral or beylerbey¹³. In 1607¹⁴ or in 1608 he was appointed beylerbey of Morea. According to the testimony of Knight died in 1638 in Vlore Albania at the age of 104 years.¹⁵

In the Spanish literature of the Golden Age Murat Rais, appears for the first time in 1599, in the work of Lope de Vega's "Celebrations in Denia"¹⁶. The same author in the work "La Dorotea" distinguishes Murat Rais among the four most famous seafarers.¹⁷

Then Lope de Vega in his *The pilgrim in his homeland*, in 1604 presents Murat the Albanian as a name so famous and formidable in Spanish shores that to him can actually be attributed all kinds of piracy"¹⁸. Similarly, in the comedy *The other victory of the Marques of Santa Cruz*, a woman tells her captivity, attributing the same character.¹⁹ Then in another comedy, which Lope de Vega mentions for the first time in 1618, the author emphasizes in a very beautiful way, the image of the terrific man that had Murat Rais in the Spanish public.²⁰

At the same time in which Lope de Vega reflected in his works the echo of the famous Albanian seafarer, Cervantes also mentions him in two of his comedies, published in 1615, but which have been written by him some years before. In the comedy *The great sultana Lady Catalina of Oviedo* emerges the Sultan, the eunuch of the harem and Manu, who speaks thus, referring to protagonist of the work *Lady Catalina of Oviedo: Captain Murat, My Lord Great Lord / I introduce her to you, and she is / The first and the best / that the name the beautiful / can proudly hold*.²¹

In the comedy titled *The baths of Algiers*, Cervantes mentions him again, confessing an Algerian corsair attack on the Spanish coast, around which event talk the soldiers arriving later on the scene:

Captain: Who on earth such a great action can have done?/ The Other: If it was Captain Murat he is really brave.²²

There is also another fragment in a comedy titled *Prisoners of Algiers*, where Lope de Vega states: "Came a Spanish slave / who told us that an afternoon / my Dear Princess / that has been Archeduquess of

Flanders / went to the shore to see / a cave which waves beat / where is used to supply with water / your friend Murat Captain."²³

Another Spanish author of this time mentions this character, in the novel *The Life of Mark of Obregón*, published in 1618, which narrates a match between turkeys "... went so vehemently against the turkey is as if it was against Murat captain."²⁴

In a novel, published in 1631 Castillo Solorzano gives us another interesting excerpt: "the storm engulfed (D. Jeronim) the whole day and night, and at dawn came very close to the coast of Algiers, where they had seen. There were two Algerians galleys owned by Ali Murad, the greatest Corsair among Muslims".²⁵

These were some of the fragments that we could find where stands as a character the Great Captain Murad the Albanian. But the commentators of the literary works cited above, have been hesitant in that it is a real or fictional person.²⁶

Documentary appendix

Doc. 1.

Letter of Pedro de Ribera, from Algiers. Among other things, announces the depart of Murat Rais, but not being sure of his destination claims that some say is heading toward the coast of Spain, while others say it is headed towards the Canary archipelago in the Atlantic Ocean.

5 prill 1587 «Lunes, a veintitrés de marzo, ha salido Morato Arráez con siete baxeles grueros ; él va a Almazarrón, porque lo tiene sobre los ojos. Otros dicen que hirá a las islas de Canaria ; él lleva bien armados de escopeteros sus navíos....»

British Museum, Add. 28.373. fl. 16; M. Herrero García, "Morato Arráez", *Revista de Filología Española*, 13, (1926): 181.

Doc. 2

Report on the corsairs of the Algiers and the number of ships of each.

Morat Arráez, que dicen el Grande, renegado esclavón, Arnaut, uno de 24.

... En el Atarazanal se hazen agora de nuevo éstas ... Morat Arráez, el Grande, uno de 24.

British Museum, Add. 28.366. fl. 148; Herrero García, "Morato Arráez", 181-182.

Doc. 3

Chronicle of Al Mansur, the Sultan of Morocco, written by Antonio de Saldanha, portuguese serving the king. Chapter that talks about the incursion pf Murat Rais on the Canary Islands. We learn that although the Spanish Admiral ambushed him in the Strait of Gibraltay for two consecutive months, Murat having passed the strait goes to Valencia where he took two ships laden with goods, and after five monihs of navigation was back to Algiers. Saldanha says that Murat the Albanian was the first Muslim seafarer that accomplished such an expedition in the Atlantic Ocean.

Capitulo 65.

Do que fez Murato Arraes depois de escapar das galés de Espanha.

Alargando-se Murato Arraes, e vendo que lhe haviam de ir tomar o Estreito por onde necessariamente se havia de recolher, intentou fazer outro caminho novo pera meter tempo em meo. E se foi as canaturcos em terra, cativou a mulher e filha do marquês e quatrocentas cruzados, de que lhe deram quatro em dinheiro e reféns de oito...

Chegou Murato Arraes a Safi, e logo que o xarife o soube mandou ao alcaide que ali estava com um judeu que foi de Marrocos que lhe comprasse toda a presa e o fizeram por vinte e oito mil cruzados.

E ainda que o adelantado esperou por ele dous meses correndo o mais deles as costas de Berberia, o cossario, como tão experto, passou de noite o Estreito e escapou por se não largar nunca da costa de Espanha e por ela foi até Valença onde tomou outros dous navios carregados, e dai atravessou a Argel depois de cinco meses de navegação, que não é pouco pera galés andando o mais do tempo no mar aceano (ainda que na costa de Berberia), e porventura foi ele o primeiro mouro que o intentou.

Crónica de Almançor, Sultão de Marrocos (1578-1603), de António de Saldanha. Estudo crítico, introdução e notas por António Dias Farinha. Traduction française par Léon Bourdon (Lisboa: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1997), p. 187.

19. One lb pieces with the size of a 3 lbs falconet.
20. ASV Senato deliberazioni mar, reg.114, 489v-450r
21. Collado, L., *Pratica manuale di arteglieria Venezia*, 1586.
22. Williams, A.R and A.J.R. Paterson "A Turkish Bronze Cannon in the Tower of London" *Gladius* 1986
23. *Col ferro col fuoco* (catalogue) Milano, 1955.
24. See, ad ex.: Agoston, G. - *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* Cambridge, 2005.
25. Morin, M., "Le galeazze a Lepanto" *Oltre Lepanto: dallo scontro di ieri all'intesa di oggi* Pergine Valsugana (TN), 2012.
26. For information on armament see: Hale, sir J. R., "Men and Weapons: the Fighting Potential of a Sixteenth-Century Venetian Galleys", *War and Society*, New York, 1975.
27. Parker, G. *The Military Revolution* Cambridge, 1988.
28. La batalla naval de Señor Don Juan de Austria an. Ms. of José Pacheco y Muñoz de Baena printed in Madrid (1971) by the Navy Historical Office.
29. Wiel, A. *The Navy of Venice* London, 1910.
30. Braudel, F. *La Méditerranée et le Monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* Paris, 1949.
31. ASV CX secrete, reg. 9, 182v
32. *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato* serie III, vol. I Firenze, 1840.

Ottoman Corsairs in The Atlantic During The 16th Century: Murat Rais, The Albanian and The First Ottoman Expedition to The Canary Islands

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1. Philip Gosse, *Histoire de la Piraterie*, nouvelle édition (Paris: Payot, 1952), 57. Cfr. Roger Coindreau, *Les corsaires de Sale*, (Paris: Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, 1948), 25.
2. Lope De Vegas, *Fiestas de Denia*, cap. II (Valencia, 1599), fol. 59-61.
3. *Obras completas de Cervantes*, Ed. Schevill-Bonilla, *Comedias y Entremeses*, I, p. 241-242
4. Diego de Haedo, *Topographia e Historia General de Argel*, repartida en cinco tratados, do se veran casos estraños, muertes espantosas, y tormentos

5. exquisitos, que conviene se entienden en la Christiandad: con mucha doctrina y elegancia curiosa (Valladolid, 1612), fol. 18r.
6. Haedo, says that he is Albanian, "de nacion que nosotros llamamos albanes". Haedo, *Topographia e Historia General de Argel*, fol. 84v.
7. Sir Godfrey Fisher, *Barbary Legend. War, Trade and Piracy in North Africa 1415-1830*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 89, notes "The career of this remarkable man, who soon helped to restore Turkish naval supremacy in the Mediterranean at the expense of Spain, and appears to have been a good friend of England, has been strangely neglected by historians".
8. Gosse, *Histoire de la Piraterie*, 57. Cfr. Coindreau, *Les corsaires de Sale*, 25.
9. Gosse, *Histoire de la Piraterie*, 58 ; Alonso Castillo Solórzano, *Tiempo de regocijo y Carnestolendas de Madrid* (Madrid, 1627), fol. 164v.
10. Alonso Castillo Solórzano, *Tiempo de regocijo y Carnestolendas de Madrid* (Madrid, 1627), fol. 164v.
11. "Duro in expressing the view that the Barbary corsairs had no leaders of the quality of the overlooked the lack of contemporary evidence that any of the Barbarossas ever entered the Atlantic or inflicted any great damage on the coasts of Spain." Fisher, *Barbary Legend*, 129.
12. Svat Soucek, «Piri Reis and Ottoman Discovery of the Great Discoveries», *Studia Islamica*, (1964): 134.
13. "In 1587 he was reported to be making another voyage to the Canaries with eighteen galleys to annoy Spain in concert with Queen Elizabeth." Fisher, *Barbary Legend*, 127.
14. Fisher, *Barbary Legend*, 89, 315.
15. Jean Pignon, "Gênes et Tabarca au XVII ème siècle", *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 109-110 (1979), doc. 67, p. 82-83.
16. Fisher, *Barbary Legend*, 316.
17. Knight witnessed the end at Valona in 1638 of 'Murate a renegade of the Corsica nation, a person of great honour in Algiers, lieutenant general of the armada... a man of 104 years of age, whose desire was to die in the face of the Christians fighting the battle of Mahomet' Osborne, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ii. 477.
18. « era fama por Denia que Morato/ estaba imaginando en sus derrotas/ (que por ser ladron del mar tiene por trato)/ en Ibiza con doce galeotas. Lope de Vega, ». *Fiestas de Denia*, fol. 59-61.
19. « Mira las almas que perdidas lloran/ Italia triste, España miserable,/ cautivas de los bárbaros que adoran / la rapiña de los cuerpos lamentable./ Los cuatro que Argel, cossarios moran, / con daño mío y perdición no-

table./ Chafer, Fuchel, Mamisali y Morato,/ de Tripol, Túnez y Biserta el trato. »Lope de Vega, *La Dracontea*, cap. I, edic. Sancha, voll. III, p. 189.

18. ... y saltando dos amigos con hábito turquesco en la barca, arrebataron la nueva Elena, que trasladando della al bergantín enriquecieron los brazos de Philandro ; las voces de los fingidos turcos que apellidauan a Morato Arráez hizieron creer a los que en la barca dexaron libres que fuese indubitadamente el autor del robo. » Lope de Vega, *El Peregrino en su patria*, (Impresso en Sevilla, por Clemente Hidalgo, 1604), fol.8v.

19. « Echáronme en unas islas/ solitarias, que el mar bate,/ con pescado y con bizcocho/ breve vida y larga cárcel./ Mas viniendo a hacer aguada/ en ellas Morato Arraez/ fuí de Morato cautiva,/ y en Argel vendida a Zaide. » Lope de Vega, *La nueva victoria del marqués de Santa Cruz*, jornada I, Ed. Real Akademia, vol. XIII, p. 47.

20. « ¡Oh, plega a Dios, amigo Feliciano,/ que no te salga esta mujer celosa;/ que más quisiera verte en las galeras/ eternamente de Morato Arraez! ». Lope de Vega, *El desposorio encubierto*, (En Madrid, por la viuda de Alonso Martin, 1620), fol. 226.

21. « Morato Arraez, gran Señor,/ te la presento, y es ella/ la primera y la mejor/ que del título de bella/ puede llevarse el honor. » *Comedia famosa de la gran sultana Doña catalina de Oviedo*, jornada I, n.º *Ocho comedias, y ocho entremeses nuevos nunca representados, compuestos por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, dirigidas a don Pedro Fernandez de Castro, (Madrid, por la viuda de Alonso Martin, 1615), fol. 115.

22. « Capitán ¿Quién puede a tan gran hecho aventurarse? Otr. Si el es Morato Arraez, es atrevido. » Cervantes, *Comedia famosa de los baños de Argel*, (Madrid, 1615), fol. 60v.

23. « Vino un cautivo español,/ que nos dijo que una tarde/ la sereníssima Infanta,/ archiduca que fué en Flandres,/ entró en el mar para ver/ una cueva que combate,/ adonde agua suele hacer/ tu amigo Morato Arraez. » *Obras de Lope de Vega*, Ed. Real Academia, nueva edición, vol. IV, *Los cautivos de Argel*, jornada III, f. 259.

24. « y desenvainando su alfanje..., iba con tanta furia contra el gallo como si fuera contra Morato Arraez. » Vicente Espinel, *Relaciones de la vida del escudero Marcos de Obregón*, (Madrid : por Iuan de la Cuesta, 1618), fol. 26.

25. « Corrió tormenta (D. Jeronimi) todo aquel día y noche, y al amanecer se halló muy cerca de la playa de Argel, de donde fué visto ; estaban en

ella dos galeras de moros que gobernaba Ali Morato, el mayor corsario de la morisma.». Alonso Castillo Solórzano, *Noches de placer: en que contiene doze novelas*, (Barcelona : Sebastian de Cormellos, 1631), fol. 116v.

26. See also Ardian Muhaj « Reth pranisë së shqiptarëve në Mesdheun Perëndimor në shekujt XVI-XVII », *Univers*, 7, (Tiranë, 2005) : 198-212 ; « Personazhe ne letersine spanjolle te shekullit XVI mes realitetit historik dhe letrar arberor, *Vjetar, Arkivi-i Kosoves*, 37-38, (Prishtine, 2007) : 281-296.

Gazânâme-i Halil Paşa (1595-1623) ve Dönemin Diğer Kaynakları Işığında Kaptan-ı Derya Halil Paşa'nın Denizcilik Faaliyetleri ve Bu Dönemde Osmanlı Denizciliğinin Değerlendirilmesi

Dr. Meltem AYDIN

1. Feridun Emecen, "Osmanlılar" *DLA*, c. 33, İstanbul 2007, s. 490.
2. İdris Bostan, "Osmanlılar" *DLA*, c. 33, İstanbul 2007, s. 512.
3. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı*, TTK Ankara, 1988, s.389-390.
4. Bostan, "Osmanlılar", s.513.
5. Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı*, s.392
6. Bostan, "Kapudan Paşa" *DLA*, c.24, Ankara 2001, s.354.
7. A.H.De Groot "Halil Paşa, Kayserili" *DLA*, c.15, İstanbul 1997, s.324-325.
8. A.H.De Groot, "Halil Paşa-Kayserili," s.324.
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